

FREE POLAND

DEVOTED TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE CAUSE OF A UNITED AND INDEPENDENT
POLAND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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Poland— An Economic Survey

"Dantzig would be the very first object of the Poles. Even if the Poles would not really prefer a claim to this city, it certainly would be a necessity for the Polish State."

Bismarck.

WHILE the spirit which first roused President Wilson to speak in favor of a United and Independent Poland with access to the sea is the more beautiful because there was no thought of trade, argosies or new spheres of importance behind the words, Poland, the New Poland which is coming into existence, will have a strong, self-sustaining basis. Elsewhere in this number of FREE POLAND, is an article setting forth what the New Poland will have to offer, not only in this world's goods, but in trade opportunities, and it is hoped that for all the dryness of such an exposition, that the readers will scan it carefully. Among many Americans the feeling exists, and their willingness to assist is all the more creditable, because of this general impression, that Poland is a desert waste. Only a few days ago Senator Wadsworth, of New York, intimated that Germany might well be willing to surrender Poland, because she knew it was economically ruined. The facts are to the exact contrary. Poland will be able to contribute materially to the wealth of the world. War has spread its hand across her industries, but the Poles have been at war for 125 years with their German, yes, and Russian oppressors. They have built daily and against most terrible odds. With liberty they will rebuild a new Poland which will arouse the admiration of the world. The new Poland has coal, iron, lead and zinc; it has platinum; it has wheat and corn fields; it

has textile industries well established; it has what makes for success in all these things, a hard, thrifty, population which is willing to work unceasingly and which will rise superior to all disadvantages. It will require a sustaining hand at the beginning perhaps, but there need be no fear but what in a marvelously short time it will be able to lift and carry the burdens of the world and to be a real member of a league of nations.

POLAND, as a new entrant in the league of nations, will enter after a long schooling of adversity. It is frankly admitted by those cognizant with conditions, that the Russians in achieving a real understanding of themselves, in building a state ship which can ride safely through deep and troubled waters, are distressed by their lack of precedents. The extraordinary, the pathetic experimenting which is now going on, with which we should all be most sympathetic, is necessary because it is only by testing all ways, that the Russians can safely determine what is right, what is sound and good. The Poles, for centuries, have been obliged to build under the eyes of task masters who sought to bring about destruction rather than fulfillment. Their schools and their universities have thrived under espionage. There is no new misfortune which during the past century they have not

learned to surmount and with success. The problem of rebuilding Poland under their own free form of government will be a mere incident in comparison with the many constructive problems which they have successfully solved during their time of bondage.

IT IS the brotherhood which grows out of companionship in misfortune, in misery, in oppression, which really takes on an everlasting character. Close association in times of plenty, in periods of success results in friendships but it is only when the iron enters the soul, when all that is longed for is being crushed, that men bind themselves to one another with clasps of steel. Out of the reign of misery of crime and disaster prevailing in middle Europe has grown such a friendship between the Czechs and Poles. At Paris the Poles have been foremost in urging the rights of the Czecho-Slovaks and in the organ, the *Polak*, in Paris, the Polish words of congratulation have been many and sincere. Here in the United States there has grown up a friendship all-enduring between Professor Masaryk and Mr. I. J. Paderewski, which has already been evidenced in many ways. Among the members of both immigrations in the United States, men who have been far from the horrors which have been faced by those within the devastated territories, there are still those who see their own nationality aspiration as a separate and distinct happening. Let it now be understood and made plain by the leaders and teachers that a blow for the Czechs is also a blow for the Poles and visa versa, and that the cause of both profits even though the gesture be only made in the name of one. It may be because of geographical conditions that the success of a free Czecho-Slovak State depends a little more exactly on the creation of a friendly Poland on its border, but Poland also needs a free Czecho-Slovak State with which it can unite in trade relations, in military defense plans, and in the glorious partnership for the advancement and protection of democratic ideals.

GENERAL JOSEPH HALLER who has been named by the National Polish Committee at Paris as the commander-in-chief of the Polish armies operating on the Eastern as well as the Western fronts, is a trained soldier, a glorious Polish patriot, and a man of vision

and understanding. General Archinard, of France, in transmitting to the United States the recognition of the governments of the Entente spoke with satisfaction of his military ability and his loyalty. The recognition of the Polish army as a co-belligerent and allied army by the governments of the Entente, followed his nomination by the National Polish Committee. It was General Haller who led the famous revolt of the Polish Carpathian Iron Brigade in the Austrian army and who marched his men from Bukowina over the mountains into Bessarabia. Later, with great skill, he consolidated a portion of the troops with the Czecho-Slovak army and then carried the rest through to the Murman coast, where they have been associated with the Allies.

SOME two hours ride from Constantinople on the beautiful edges of Asia Minor, lies a Polish village.

This is one of the many leaves, which the Polish misfortune tore away from the family tree and scattered over the wide world.

This colony was founded during the times of the great emigration, by Father Adam Czar-toryski, and which was enlivened in Polish activities during the residence and death of Adam Mickiewicz in Constantinople, and also strengthened by the former dictator Langiewicz, whose tomb is in Haidar-Baszy, and which is a symbol representing several waves of emigration, which have here thrown shipwrecked Poles after each national storm.

At the present time there are in Adam-pol several hundred Polish farmers who preserve their language and traditions of their fathers and grandfathers. Even in the vicinity of Bosfor there are many Poles, amongst whom are some veterans from the year '63, who receive pensions from the Turkish government.

These Poles arranged this year an anniversary in honor of Thadeus Kosciuszko. They gathered in a small church named after St. Mary, which contained a funeral decoration, including two standards with the white eagle.

A Polish priest made a patriotic sermon, and from the mouths of the congregation, rose a strong hymn of faith and hope, "The Crossing of Vistula and Warta," which echoed above the capitol of Turkey.

Offerings collected were put to the Chelm fund.

What Poles Seek at Peace Table

NOTE: This is a reprint from the *Evening Post* of New York, of an interview had with John F. Smulski by a representative of that paper.

WITH the Bulgarian link in the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway broken, the one hope of Prussian Junkerdom for a refilling of its treasure chests and for the rebuilding of a new war plan lies in discounting the thirteenth point of the peace proposition of President Wilson, calling for a reunion of all Polish populations and the creation of an independent Poland with free and secure access to the sea. The whole Polish situation hinges on the interpretation of the thirteenth point. This is the opinion of John F. Smulski, president of the National Polish Department.

"Poland is Germany's natural trade route to Russia, Siberia, and the Far East," Mr. Smulski said today. "Though the Germans have lost on the southeast, if they can hold this way open by the creation of a small Polish State, small in area and economically weak, they will have a bridge to Russia prepared for their use, instead of a barrier to their trade and imperialistic ambitions.

"Already German newspapers are beginning to show signs of restiveness over the acceptance of this thirteenth point with the other points in President Wilson's propositions. They are beginning to explain what it means, how much it means, and how it must not be allowed to mean what the President meant when he wrote it.

"They would have it that it does not mean the return of Danzig, the ancient Polish seaport on the Baltic; that it does not mean the return of Prussian Poland, with its 90 per cent of indisputably Polish population; nor the Silesias, both of which contain the richest coal fields in Europe; and, above all, that it does mean the giving up of Posnania, the cradle of the Polish nation, which for a century and a half has fought against Prussian aggression and defended her national integrity. A weak Poland means German control of Russian trade and the continued demoralization of Russian political life."

"In recognizing the autonomy of the Polish army, as just reported in press dispatches, Great Britain followed the action taken by France a year ago and by the United States Government in June, 1918. Great Britain's step came close after the naming by the Polish

National Committee in Paris of General Joseph Haller as commander-in-chief of the Polish army. General Haller as an Austrian subject fought against Russia and the Allies during the early days of the war, as Russia held the largest part of Poland. After the Russian Revolution, however, he escaped with his army in a dramatic flight through Russia to France. With 10,000 men, the "Iron Brigade," he marched seventy miles over the Carpathians in a single night, was permitted by the Bolsheviks to pass through Moscow to Archangel and on to Paris.

"The Polish army in France was created by proclamation of President Poincare in June, 1917. France gave up all the Poles in her Foreign Legion and all Polish prisoners of war as they surrendered from Germany and Austria. A special French Deputy, Franklin Bouillon, then came to America and recruited for this army from the 4,000,000 Poles here those not subject to the draft. Nearly 20,000 have joined from America, many from South America, and even from as far away as Shanghai Polish volunteers have joined the 'brigade' now fighting side by side with General Pershing's force on the western front. In addition 100,000 Poles are with the American army and many are fighting on the Murman coast or have joined the Czecho-Slovak forces in Siberia.

"Under the German administration Poland is today absolutely in the power of the German military authorities, represented by von Beseler, appointed by the German Chancellor as Governor General of Poland. Germany is doing all in her power to win the Polish people. She has restored the control of the schools (though not of the universities and higher technical schools); she has restored the control of the minor courts of justice and allowed the Council of Regency to exercise minor administrative functions. But the Council has no governmental powers, as all orders must be signed by the German Governor General. The Council of Regency was appointed by the Germans to serve until they were ready to pick out a king. But the Germans have lagged in this latter task."

While the Poles cannot command their army

nor administer their affairs within the kingdom, official Poland today consists of the Polish National Committee of Paris, a representative body of Polish nationals recognized by the Allied governments and the United States over a year ago. This is the official body which will present the Polish claims, Mr. Smulski said, and he was not ready to suggest how the Poles wished the thirteenth point interpreted geographically other than to say: "Poland *must* have access to the sea, otherwise she will be economically crippled."

As to the form of government there is no hesitancy. "Poland must be a republic, a democracy with equal franchise and complete political freedom. Poland has been, in fact, a republic for 500 years. Her Constitution, adopted in 1793, was modelled after the Constitution of the United States, but the partition of the country through the intriguing of three great Powers, about her subjugation. Poland is committed to Republican ideals."

As an illustration of the fundamental feeling of democracy among the Poles Mr. Smulski tells an interesting story of his experience in Posen, German Poland, at the tender age of eight. A school boy, he had to attend the schools controlled by German authorities. The Polish boys wore Polish caps with the insignia of their country. This was, of course, regarded as dangerous for the security of the German Empire. So the caps were ordered discarded. The day after the order was issued, however, young John Smulski, aged eight, put on his cap and walked to school, for which action he was put under arrest, and locked up for twenty-four hours.

"It decided my future," he said. "At the age of twelve I was sailing toward America. Now as an American citizen I am working with the Allies for the liberation of the Poles, especially those in German Poland."

Mr. Smulski added a few words about the cultural development of the Polish people and industrial progress among them. He called attention to the fact that the oldest university in Europe was that of Cracow. "Of the great list of Polish writers Sienkiewicz is but one and by no means the greatest," he said. "There is Kraszewski and Slawacky, there is Adam Mickiewicz, the poet. The great musicians, among them Chopin and Paderewski, are known everywhere in America, Mme. Curie, the scientist, is a Pole. But I cannot even begin to name those Poles who stand out

among the greatest in the world in art and science and in literature.

"Senator Wadsworth the other day referred to Poland as an economic wreck. It is true the Germans have carried away all the machinery in sight. They 'borrowed' the textile machinery from Lodz, the Manchester of Poland, and they did the job efficiently. But there is Warsaw, the centre of the Polish population, the greatest railroad centre of Europe. Poland has the largest coal fields in Europe and immense deposits of iron ore and zinc. Poland and the Polish people can soon recuperate if the world but gives them what is theirs."

SPIRIT OF POLAND'S NEW ARMY

Paris, steeped in patriotism and fighting spirit, is not easily stirred by individual gallantry and heroism. Such things are common here.

But everybody in Paris, lately, has been talking about the efforts made by a Pole, Lieutenant Chodzko, to secure a place in the flying service.

Lieutenant Chodzko's application is creating enthusiasm because of the spirit of the man. He has been wounded twenty times since 1914. His last wound cost him his leg, now replaced by an American artificial limb.

This brave Pole insists he is still able to fight in the air—since the air service does not require much walking—and he is eager to go on battling for the liberty of his country, which will come with Allied success!

Such is the spirit of Poland's new army. Every member of it, say the Paris dispatches, is filled with the same "never-say-die" determination. All France is stirred by the heroism of the little army of Poland.

For the first time in 150 years the Poles of France and America are fighting under their national banner. The courage and ability with which they are doing it is not surpassed by any army organization in the field.—Buffalo (N. Y.) *Courier*.

If the people of Poland and the Polish people of Austria and Germany persist in their refusal to give aid to the Teutonic cause or swallow the barbed lure of a Polish Kingdom, offered them by the All-Highest and his staff, a great share of the credit must go to those of Polish birth who are removed by emigration from Teutonic clutches.

Shut off, like all the various Russian peoples, from contact with the Allied countries, the Poles of Poland, Germany and Austria alike might have been deluded by the Germans if it were not for the vigorous work of the Polish emigrants. But the raising of a Polish army in the United States, Canada and the European entente countries to fight on the Allied side has gripped the imagination of the Pole at home. The constant messages from outside to stand firm against the Teuton has prevented them from being deluded and has thwarted every German effort to raise a Polish army to fight for Germany. Paderewski, the temperamental pianist, has become Paderewski, the patriot, in leading this movement to save Poland from losing its last vestige of separate identity.—Youngstown (Ohio) *Telegram*.

Poland and Polish Events

To Newspaper Editors: The following notes represent gleanings from various sources. Because of the German guard of steel it is impossible to guarantee the exactness of the various messages, but it is believed they will be found worthy of reprinting in American newspapers.

The Polish army forces in Russia, which, under a recent decree and to the great happiness of the soldiers themselves have been consolidated in control with the Polish army in France under the command of General Haller, recently recognized by the Entente governments, are being reported in a number of centers.

The French Ambassador to Russia reports that Polish soldiers have joined with the armies of England and France and America on the Murman coast and that the various forces are seeking to excel one another in the brilliancy of their attacks. In his message the Ambassador especially commends the Poles, who, he says, have many times advanced themselves in battle against the Bolshevik bands. The memory of the sufferings and the tortures withstood by the Polish immigrants, the Ambassador reports, have spurred the Polish troops to great deeds of daring.

That attempts would be made to create if possible friction between the Polish and Czecho-Slovak forces in the field was one of the fo-be-expected happenings. The harmony which has prevailed between these bodies has been disturbing both to the Bolsheviks and to the Germans. To dispose of this fiction, and to destroy its possible effect, the *Temps* of Paris has officially noticed the rumor for the purpose of officially denying it. The Bolsheviks, the *Temps* reports, have taken on this undertaking because of the need of sustaining the courage of the Red Guard, which has been seriously affected by the vigor of the attacks made by these joint and allied forces.

The Polish military daily, *Glos Wolny*, published in Omsk, is appealing in warm words for the concentration of the Polish forces which are scattered all through Russia. A symbol for all of these is to be the name of General Haller, around whom draw close all the Polish armed forces.

"Those alive, join the ranks," ends the appeal. Everything for a united Poland. The blood of our brothers which has flown in the battle at Kaniowo represents our faith in strength, life and victory in our battles of insurrection."

Another issue of *Glos Wolny* gives the mobilization order of General Haller, dated July 10, 1918, when he refused to surrender to the Germans and fought through Bolshevik Russia in order to reach Murmansk.

Czas, of Warsaw, dated September 4, speaks of September 2 being celebrated as the anniversary of the judicature being placed in Polish hands. This was one of the numerous things of national importance that the Germans have returned.

The Polish judicature at the present time consists of the following: 1. Highest Court (Supreme), in Warsaw; 2. Court of Appeals, in Warsaw and Lublin; 3. 16 Districts Courts, in Warsaw, Lodz, Wloclaw, Plock, Siedlic, Lomzy, Mlawie, Czestochowie, Lowiczu, Sosnowcu, Lublinie, Kielcac, Radomiu, Piotrkowie, Kaliszu and Zamosc; 4. 446 Polish courts in the cities and villages in Russian Poland. In the Polish courts are employed at the present time 4,000 people.

The *Taegliche Rundschau* writes: "To the problems which have been the object of the conferences between German and Austro-Hungarian authorities also belongs the matter of uniting the Polish-German railroad. As we are now advised,

the consolidation of the Polish-German railway belongs to the wishes of the German economical interests, but the present Polish secessions should be considered carefully, because they institute an economic guarantee in the place of proposed protection on the western boundary of Poland.

"The conjugation of the railways with Poland, without a strategic protection of the boundaries, for the peace-time growth of economics between the Germans and Poles, would institute more danger than a guarantee."

On September 27 there was held in Lupaw, Western Prussia, an election for the Prussian diet. To replace the late Dr. Lamparski, Pole, was again chosen a Pole, Attorney Dr. Kurzetkowski, who in the last and final voting received 146 votes against 43 votes in favor of the German candidate Richter.

Izwiestja, of September 7, the unofficial organ of the Peoples' Council Commissioners, in mentioning the new supplementary treaty of Brest on March 3, 1917, which was only a short time ago undersigned in Berlin by Hintz and Joffe, says that this treaty is very beneficial to Russia, and adds:

"We now have free hands to conquer the English, Czechs and Poles."

The conferences in regard to the Polish affairs, together with rumors of neutralization of Dantzig have highly alarmed the German patriots. One of the papers, *Westfael Ztg.*, has taken out of the grave the spectre of Bismark, quoting the following wise remarks:

"Dantzig would be the very first object of the Polish Kingdom. Even if the Poles would not really prefer a claim to this city, it certainly would be a necessity for the Polish state."

We can therefore see that Bismarck well understood and was willing to admit that we will some day demand the return of Dantzig.

In midst of the ringing of German bells, giving alarm of the "Polish Danger," he has echoed the characteristic voice of the Torun pastor Jakob. He has reached to the history of not long ago, and the columns of the *Torner Ztg.*, has set forth his position:

"It was a great day for the Parish in Torun in Sept. 18, 1845, he writes, when in this church was held solemn services on the occasion of the second union of the Prussian Kingdom, and the paying of homage to the new authority. Pastor Eisenhauer gave a sermon at the altar, and no doubt amongst the congregation was present the new Commander of Torun, Benckendorf von Hindenburg.

"This ancient church has been for eighty years also a garrison church. Just before this, the Polish eagles were removed from all parts of the city and Prussian eagles substituted.

"Is it possible that this should reverse again?"

FROM A POLISH PRAYER BOOK

"Mother of God, Queen of the Poles, save Poland! All Holy protectors of the Polish Republic, pray for us!
From the Muscovite and Prussian bondage, free us, O Lord!
By the martyrdom of the twenty thousand citizens of Praga who were murdered for their faith and freedom, free us, O Lord!
By the martyrdom of the soldiers murdered by the Prussians in Fischau, free us, O Lord!
For weapons and for the national eagles, we beseech thee, O Lord!
For death on the battlefield, we beseech thee, O Lord!
For the battle of independence, unity and freedom of our Fatherland, we beseech thee, O Lord!
For the equality and fraternity of the Polish people, we beseech thee O Lord!
For the repossession of the Polish Fatherland, we beseech thee O Lord!
For an early universal call 'To arms!' we beseech thee, O Lord!"

The Poles and the Liberty Loan

The support which the Polish people have given to the Liberty Loans continues to arouse the admiration of the newspapers and the loan officials. Not only have the Poles subscribed way beyond expectations, but they have put in motion and created their own machinery for the arousing of interest and the execution of Liberty Loan plans.

At the all-Polish convention held at Detroit last August a temporary organization was created which later turned over a million of Polish money into Liberty Bonds. The National Polish Alliance at its convention in Pittsburgh, subscribed outright for a half a million dollars worth of bonds and announced to its members at large, that this organization subscription did not in any way relieve the individual members from their obligation. The Women's Polish Organization at its annual session at Detroit subscribed for one hundred thousand dollars worth.

It may be said that this wholesale subscription out of organization funds did not involve any feeling of sacrifice. That the process only consisted of transferring the money from one form of security to another. Now, as it happens, there was an element of sacrifice because the officers of all the associations named actually remade their own organization plans and part of the money which was subscribed was contributed by reason of the willingness of the members to assume labors as a voluntary task for which previously, compensation had been paid and to curtail certain of the pleasurable activities which have always formed a feature of the life of the clubs in question.

Even more striking, however, is the fact that the votes in favor of so subscribing were not only unanimous, but enthusiastic in every case, and thus betokened a state of supreme confidence in the justice of the war in which the United States is engaged and the certainty of victory.

Liberty Loan organizers reported, and with much gratification, that during the deadly slowing period, when the American public, enamoured by the exchange of peace notes, began to hold back on the assumption that the war was over, the Poles actually increased their purchases. "There was no need

to explain to them," the agents said, "that for American war successes, the peace note must be ignored, and that the need of carrying on was more important than ever; they knew it." Long ago, in Prussian Poland, the Poles had learned of the wide gap which exists between German promises and German deeds. They know, as was said in the German Reichstag only a few days ago, that German promises are only sure of fulfillment when they bode ill for a subject people.

Happily, indeed, it can be said, Polish loyalty as evidenced in the loan, knew of no bounds. North, south, east and west, wherever the Poles gathered, they subscribed and to the top of their bent, and the subscription meetings were turned into merry making affairs. Here is what the Jersey City, N. J., *Journal* had to say on Polish activities:

By subscribing for \$100,000 worth of Liberty Bonds and paying cash for \$60,000 worth right on the spot, the Polish residents of Jersey City set an admirable example to the rest of us. These people are, for the most part, poor, yet thrifty enough to lay aside a little for a rainy day. These savings are what they have contributed to the great cause in which Uncle Sam is engaged. Their country, like Belgium, is a pawn in the hands of the Kaiser, and they have not only sent many of their stalwart sons to fight on the Western Front, but in the Fourth Liberty Loan they find a means of helping their mother country and at the same time manifesting to Uncle Sam that, as adopted citizens of this country, they propose to stand by it in its hour of need.

In the last Liberty Loan drive these loyal Poles of Jersey City also contributed \$100,000, and when the new call came they quickly duplicated the feat. To raise \$100,000 at such a gathering is no small accomplishment, and the lesson that it bears for the rest of us is not likely to be lost. When these Poles at one rally subscribe such a large amount what are we, who have much more at stake, going to do? Are we going to show these Poles that we appreciate their patriotism by quickly subscribing our quota?

In Chicago, the Polish churches, as well as clubs and assembly rooms were devoted almost exclusively to rousing and sustaining the Polish interest in the loan. Three hundred mothers of killed and wounded Polish soldiers, paraded with Loan banners in a demonstration which the Chicago *Herald-Examiner* says:

was one of the largest ever seen in Chicago, which contains more Poles than any city in the world. A

resolution of loyalty and thanks to President Wilson was adopted with cheers.

The demonstration began with a parade that formed at Forty-seventh street and Ashland avenue and ended at the International Amphitheatre. In all the speeches and in resolutions three points were stressed as fitting the hour of Germany's desire to "stop and talk." These were:

1. Now is the time to *buy more* Liberty Bonds.
2. Every able-bodied American citizen should get into the army as quickly as possible.
3. Every Pole not a citizen should enlist immediately in the Polish army in France.

The Buffalo, N. Y., *Commercial* felt, editorially, that the Polish people had established a record of loyalty which could hardly be touched. In its editorial columns, it expressed its opinion as follows:

Buffalo Polish people need display no further proof of their loyalty to this country than to point to the result of last night's great mass meeting in Polish Union hall, where they raised \$150,000 in Liberty Bonds. The occasion was the first anniversary of the organization of the Polish army, in whose ranks are hundreds of Buffalo Polish boys. But the Polish people of this city on several other occasions have demonstrated their loyalty in a manner that leaves no room for doubt.

The Poles in Baltimore who invested \$300,000 in the third Liberty Loan, went over \$500,000 in the fourth, according to the *Baltimore Star*.

In the village of New York Mills, N. Y., the Polish people had a parade with a band, and the seekers for the privilege of entering the hall where bonds were to be sold were so many and so enthusiastic that they sold admissions, the money being invested in thrift stamps. In less than five minutes, the Utica, N. Y., *Mail* recites, the stage was packed with Polish people to sign for bonds. The amount sold at this meeting amounted to \$10,700. The ladies in about four hours yesterday in the postoffice sold \$2,050 worth. The Rev. Alexander Fijalkowski said that beside the bonds and war-chest money the Polish people of the United States were raising a fund of \$10,000,000 for the Polish army in France and elsewhere.

A large thermometer will be erected by the New York Mills corporation just outside of the postoffice for the people of this village to watch daily on the Liberty Loan, and the mercury will continue to rise until it shows \$188,600 or more having been raised, which is New York Mills' quota.

The Polish army in France is buying liberty bonds, as well as fighting for liberty, and Poland on the fields of France. Out of their scanty wages the Polish soldiers in France recently gathered together \$5,000 and sent it to America to purchase liberty bonds. Poles from South America, from Poland itself, and

from the United States, joined in this tribute to the spirit of the United States. With their contributions they sent this message:

"Remember that we are fighting for Poland, but also for all that America stands for. Remember also that there are 200,000 Polish boys fighting with Pershing.

"When you buy liberty bonds, you are helping to beat the Hun and avenge the atrocities in Poland and Belgium. Buy all the liberty bonds you can and then some!

"We are fighting in France so that Belgium, France, Poland, and the rest of the world may be free from the oppression of the Hun.

"When we advanced into the Hun trenches we found the bodies of French women mutilated beyond recognition. Our children and women in Poland were treated the same way. You can help! Buy liberty bonds and avenge the murder the beastly Kaiser perpetrated.

"Yours for the fourth liberty loan over the top,
"POLISH ARMY IN FRANCE."

The Polish soldiers still in training in Canada have also joined the list of subscribers. Only a few days ago the last demonstration on the part of a delegation of Polish army soldiers going abroad was a hat collection on the pier for the purchase of additional bonds.

THE REBIRTH OF POLAND

The great American work accomplished by American Polish Congress held last week in Detroit was the dedication of 4,000,000 Americans of Polish blood to one great task, the support of the Allies, which means the establishment of independent Poland.

Religious liberty, racial liberty, educational ideals, principles of brotherhood and democracy, found a triumphant voice in all the resolutions adopted by the convention. This is more deeply appreciated when one realizes that the Polish-Americans are not all of one party or faction, not all of one faith. Before America entered the war these men and women had been divided into parties, one resting its hopes on the Allies, the other looking for more aid from the triumph of Germany.

It seems as if the clock of time were turned back through bloody centuries, to find the representatives of 4,000,000 Polish-Americans sending their greeting to the free Poland which is already dimly visible, shining beyond the clouds of war. The partitions of Poland healed! The Teutonic conquests reconquered and restored! And this with neither Poniatowskis nor Leszczynskis reigning, but with the people ruling, and the Poniatowskis and Leszczynskis rejoicing together in the common crown of free citizenship!

We on this side of the Atlantic see the Teutonic tyranny only as a tale that is told of old wrongs and lost kingdoms. But even we must open our eyes and look, when the oppressed nation of Poland not only asserts itself, but sends greetings to the other suppressed Slavic states which will rise from the Teutonic ruins; saluting the Jugo-Slavs and the Czecho-Slovaks in the name of the future.—Toledo (Ohio) *Blade*.

The Real Poland

Its Resources—Its Business Opportunities

This is a recitation of facts. If the American business man is to follow intelligently the maneuvers of the coming Peace Congress he must understand the stake in the countries of which Germany is seeking possession.

WHILE the fame of the Polish people in the cultural arts is not only established but admitted throughout the world, the time has arrived when other and more prosaic phases of Polish life must be made clear to the leaders of business and finance in the allied nations. Polish capability in banking, manufacturing and managerial lines, and Poland's wealth in resources must be emphasized. The New Poland, for which Polish statesmen and patriots are planning, will require national loans for the governmental development, credit for its business men, satisfactory trade relations, and markets for its products. In order to justify these undertakings, which will be far away from the sentimental field, the ability of the Poles in the New Poland to meet their obligations from their resources, and to guarantee a proper return to the investors who may enter the field must be demonstrated.

A demonstration of credits and balances is also important in a political sense. It is well to remember that the business of sponsoring the return of a people to national life, and the creation of a distinct political entity is too serious an undertaking to be based merely on an admiration for the skill of a people in the arts and sciences, or even as a mark of appreciation of their valiant struggles against oppression, or their courage in disaster. Skill and finesse in the cultural arts or a brave bearing in the face of German brutality is unfortunately more apt to awaken sympathy than to fructify into the awarding of nationality rights, the display of a solid business foundation is requisite.

Already German propagandists, than whom there are none more skilful, have spread the impression that Poland at the best will be only a foundling state, upon the door steps of the protecting nations. That its sponsoring will simply result in the creation of a small weak nation, which will be a drain in perpetuity upon the resources of those which give it shelter. Poland as they have pictured it, is an arid devastated plain devoid of natural resources and inhabited by a people who both in the business as well as the political field are in constant need of leading strings.

It is true that the German anxiety to possess Poland and the Baltic provinces rather belies these words, because the Prussians have never been a people to adventure men and treasure for the purpose of securing control of desert wastes, but they have been so successful for a century in focusing the gaze of the world on Poland through German glasses that it is not surprising they are advancing, confident they will be able to repeat their former successes, and thus win Poland, by the deluding of the other nations as to its real value.

In this general misrepresentation they have been aided by the conditions which generally follow the loss of state rights by a people. When a nation ceases to exist it not only loses its place on the maps of the world, but it loses its right to a record in the official tabulations and in the official documents in which the activities of nations are recorded. In becoming a province or a portion of an absorbing state, its wealth, even its population statistics, are melded into the grand total of the other nation. When as in the case of Poland the country is partitioned among three great powers, the opportunity to attract attention to its gestures for freedom are made even more impotent. In addition it must be remembered that Germany has been at pains to statistically misrepresent the achievements of the Poles in Prussian Poland. In this manner and with an ingenuity worthy of the highest traditions of the Bismarck school of statesmanship, the Germans have for years concealed the real value, the real wealth, the real field of opportunity for business life, which have been existant in Poland. Inasmuch as dollar diplomacy for all of the scoffing bestowed on it by the elder statesmen, has prevailed for generations, it is no wonder that Poland has been considered a pawn in the chancellories of Europe.

Elsewhere in this article are set forth more specifically special Polish developments. A brief review of Poland's economic history may be of interest, however. Poland in the past was purely an agricultural country with a dense agricultural population. For years it was regarded as the granery of Europe, and shipped

food stuffs to Northwestern Europe, to the industrial centers of England, Holland and Flanders. In addition, through the city of Dantzic, a commercial life was started which was aided materially by the persistence of Asian trade routes through Poland. At the end of the fifteenth century, however, when the Turks took Constantinople the trade routes to Asia were interrupted. The economic period began with the advent of the coal and of the railroad eras. Out of the richness of the coal supplies came a rapid development of metallurgic and textile industries. The railroads recalled Poland's commercial life. All routes from the west of Europe to Russia, Siberia, Central Asia, Caucasus, China and Japan pass through Poland. With the acquisition of Dantzic it will be made possible for Poland to turn part of this tide through Dantzic and communicate with the outside world and independently of Germany. There has also developed a strong competent middle class population. Poland also possesses engineers in all branches, chemists, etc., and a total population 30-35 per cent denser than France.

Because of these conditions it is possible to answer with confidence any inquiries as to resources and possibilities of Poland.

Is Poland likely to be an asset or a liability to the United States and Allied nations which have agreed to reorganize the nation. Can the New Poland sustain itself in a league of nations, can it hold its own in the markets of the world? Can it add to the comfort, the peace, the total of world values through its products natural and manufactured? With absolute confidence these questions can all be answered in the affirmative. The New Poland will not only be strong enough to care for its own interests but it will be able to serve as a barrier state between Germany and Russia and thus protect the Russian people against German aggression while they work out their own salvation. It can also lend a helping hand to the Czecho-Slovak state. Indeed while a self-sustaining and competent Poland is wholly feasible of itself, the safety of the Czecho-Slovak nation is dependent absolutely on Poland being made free.

The new Poland, it must be remembered, will be a nation of not less than thirty million of people and more likely over thirty-five. It will be the sixth in population on the European continent and with the disruption of Austria-Hungary, it will probably rank fifth. It will

be the next nation in size following Italy. It will have a population total in excess of the total population of Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Norway and Sweden. And this population will be diversified in its employment, having substantial numbers of its people employed in mining, in manufacturing, in agricultural pursuits, as well as in distinctly commercial undertakings. It will be a population which, with freedom, will increase its needs, its scale of living, and its business ambitions. It is a population as evidenced by the Polish immigration in the United States, which is scrupulously exact in its use of credit, its payment of obligations and characterized by thrift. This statement will, it is hoped, dissipate once for all the German fiction that Poland is a small nation.

As to its opportunities for trade, the situation is equally promising. Dantzic under Prussian rule is a sad and desolate city, the prospects of which have been sacrificed time and time again for the development of more favored Prussian territory. Dantzic today has a smaller population than in the days when the Poles had it as their seaport. With Polish rule, trade will return, because from the first German tariffs, both on the railroads and even in general intercourse, have been arranged with the idea primarily of strangling Polish commercial initiative. Under Polish control the Vistula also will furnish an extraordinarily favorable and low cost way for the transportation of bulkier products. The river is but poorly regulated, in many places, as might be expected because of its varied ownership, but when its navigable course is confined within the new Polish Commonwealth its development can be logically and energetically forwarded.

Poland is in an ideal position for general trading with the rest of Europe and the world. Through the Vistula and the port of Dantzic it can carry on deep sea commerce, and by railroad communication its principal centers are not more than two days journey from London and Warsaw. Railroad communication re-

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mains to be developed and extended because in the building of railways both the Russian as well as the German task-masters moved primarily from a military rather than a commercial motive, but the existing systems are of a positive trunk line variety. It will be the natural gateway to Russia. It is well to remember the revolt of the Polish people has been with the Czarist government, never with the Russian people, which makes new trade relations a matter of easy development.

What has Poland to trade in the markets of the world? It has the Silesian coal fields, the richest on the continent of Europe, which now feed one-third of the German industries. These fields have an area of 2,316 square miles, and the veins are 400 feet in thickness. It has been estimated that the coal reserve in Poland is in excess of 110,000,000,000 tons. These mines produce 10,000,000 tons of coal in excess of the coal mines in France. The iron reserve is also of enormous size, the cash value of which has been estimated at a very high figure. Under German rule, unfortunately, the possession of coal and iron deposits make only for war, but under Polish control the manufacture of plough shares, will be a direct industry, not one to be achieved by beating swords into the humbler shape. Within the confines of Poland are found copper, lead, tin, and zinc. The Polish oil wells in Galicia are to be found in an area of some 37 square miles, and the metric ton weight of reserve petroleum, for all of the drain through war requirements, is considerable. If the New Poland is a foundling state, it will be as a Cinderella foundling, which will rise from the chimney corner.

Poland in the agricultural field will more than hold her own. Poland's agricultural strength, early excited the cupidity of the Germans. Shortly after the beginning of the war and directly after the occupation period was inaugurated, the German authorities established a system of tariffs and trade regulations designed deliberately to remove Polish competition in the agricultural field. They forbade the milling of flour in Poland, and compelled the transportation of the grain and also of corn into Germany. To obtain the necessary quantity of flour the Poles were obliged to export an enormous weight of grain on which they were obliged to pay for the transportation of the grain and the return of the flour, 4,140,870 roubles. The developments, both in wheat and corn production, under normal conditions,

and with the encouragement of a free state, can easily be imagined. For all of the restrictions, for all of the character of the Polish soil which has called for intensive cultivation, Poland ranks fourth among the countries of the world in the production of wheat per hectare, and third in the production of rye. It has always had a large potato production, from which it has distilled alcohol and manufactured starch, besides developing an export trade in dried potatoes.

German misrepresentation has also hidden away from public gaze the sugar beet production. Before the war, in all portions of Poland, a total production of about 700,000 metric tons of sugar was being recorded, of which 300,000 was available for export. In New Poland, with improved living conditions, the amount for export is likely to be materially reduced, because of the increased consumption, but it is also most likely that the planted area will be materially increased.

Because American manufacturers in the face of considerable objections, have succeeded in selling textile machinery within the Polish industrial districts, the importance of that field of manufacture has become generally known. It is likely to be still further advertised at the close of the war because the Polish manufacturers are already discussing the possibility of securing from American sources the brass fixtures, and other essential parts of their looms which were "borrowed" by the Germans either for war purposes or to replace broken and worn parts in German factories. The looting of Lodz the textile district, has been complete, but the trade will return.

But Poland has a diversified manufacturing list. In the building industry alone there were in the Kingdom of Poland, before the opening of the war, 32 factories producing lime, with an output in value of close to a million dollars, 117 firms manufacturing cement, 309 saw mills, 64 glass works, and so on in many other subdivisions.

The rehabilitation of the country will require large sums of money but again fortunately the Polish people enjoy an extraordinary reputation as banking experts. They already have in operation a banking system which has attracted the attention of experts throughout the world because of its elasticity, and banking leaders whose nationality hopes burn with a pure white light. The organization of banking machinery for the safeguarding and utilization

of the funds will not have to be planned, there is no call for a financial reconstruction machine, because Poland has been at war for a century, and rehabilitation programs have always been in operation. In 1828 the Bank of Poland adopted a program for the industrialization of the country, and devoted money to the opening of workshops, and the exploitation of mines. Under banking authorization practical schools for the education of young men in foreign and domestic trade conditions were started and the agricultural loan system was developed. All that is required is to continue these activities, enlarging them to meet the new calls. The New Poland will demand the skill of the best men of the world for the building of canals and railroads, but there need be no fear as to the success which will attend the effort.

Poland will, in short, have a population agile, alert, well trained in agriculture, and in industries. It will have the natural resources of coal, iron, and oil; it will have agricultural products sufficient for its own needs and for export, and it will have competent banking men skilled in the work of putting the nation on its feet and conducting the operations along safe, sane lines.

Poland will be a large buyer in the markets of the world. The English merchants are already awake to the possibilities. The German and Austrian leaders, unfortunately for the rest of the world, were apparently born awake to Polish opportunities. It remains for the American business men to appreciate what an extraordinarily fertile field for honest, profitable exploitation will be opened by the creation of the new state.

The possibilities of trade development in Poland and the real value of the markets have already been estimated and apprized by German and Austrian commercial bodies. Indeed at a time when it was believed Poland was to fall into the German loot bag, the commercial bodies in Vienna and Berlin had in operation a systematic campaign for the exploitation of this rich field. In German and Austrian commercial centers for years there has been a saying, "In Polen its noch viel zu holen" (Poland is still a favorable field for exploitation). The foresight of the Germans in scenting trade possibilities and their agreement on the richness of Polish trade must be admitted, and

should serve to at least reassure the doubting Thomases in the American and Allied commercial fields.

The German Chamber of Commerce has for some time been operating branches, active and well administered, in Warsaw, and other centers which not only were devoted to continuing trade relations between Russian Poland and Germany existent at the outbreak of the war, but for the monopolization of commerce into restricted German channels. As might be expected, following usual German customs, preferential railroad rates have been arranged by which favored German merchants were able to ship goods into Poland at reduced costs and to ship raw materials out of Poland on a similar basis. Over sixty chambers of commerce, it is said, have been united in this plan, and new branches have been located in practically all the heavy industrial and mining and agricultural sections. Reports issued by the German bureaus are enthusiastic as to the opportunities for German capitalists. The Austrian commercial bodies in Vienna have also caused a careful survey to be made as to the possibilities of trade extension. While these reports have only reached the outside world through underground sources, they are all written in a most enthusiastic vein.

In short, here is the situation. The tide of battle has turned. Poland will be free—free through Allied arms and statecraft, free to destroy the artificial channels which restricted the flow of its trade relations towards the Central Powers. The people of New Poland will start with a desire and a hope of building their trade relations with the Americans and the Allies. It remains to be seen what spirit of appreciation of our opportunities we can show.

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Poles Succeed on Old Yankee Farms

The Connecticut River Valley in Massachusetts, once the very stronghold of Puritanism, where the forefathers planted the outposts of civilization and laid the foundations which made America what she is today, has been invaded by an army of aliens from over the seas. This army is becoming stronger and greater every year, and more of a force to be reckoned with.

The invaders are peaceful, are valuable industrially and economically, and it is doubtful whether this fertile section could maintain its status as one of the greatest tobacco and onion growing districts of the country were it not for the Poles, who, year by year, come to Massachusetts in ever growing numbers, and who, in not a few of the agricultural towns, are dominant in the population.

This influx began about 25 years ago, when a few score Polish immigrants came from New York and were distributed among the farmers of Sunderland, South Deerfield, Montague and other agricultural communities in the valley. They came, they saw and they remained to conquer. Now most of the farms are not only run by the Poles, but are owned by them.

In Sunderland, for instance, almost every farm and homestead along the lovely, wide, tree-shaded village street is owned by a Pole. This village was once thoroughly Yankee, and clung to its distinctive New England character long after aliens had outnumbered the native stock in other towns, and the spacious, beautiful homes were occupied by the descendants of the early settlers.

One by one the Yankee owners sold their property to the industrious Poles, who, in a remarkably short time, rose from hired farm hands to property holders, and in still less time became onion "kings" and tobacco "kings." Now, practically all the homesteads are owned by Poles.

The majority of babies born in Sunderland are Poles—in fact, some years there are no others—and the Poles pay most of the taxes.

The same thing is true in South Deerfield, in Montague, in Hadley, but in lesser degree. The Yankee farmers in these sections, who still retain their hold on the ancestral acres, freely admit that they cannot hold their own with the Poles. One after the other of the farms falls into Polish hands.

The Polish peasants are naturally an agricultural race. They have an insatiable ambition to own a farm of their own, and they offer such good prices for even rundown and indifferent farms that the hard-pressed native, who has become convinced that there is no money in farming, or who is unwilling or unable to put in the necessary hard work, or whose sons have gone to the city, or who is advanced in age, gladly sells out, perhaps to the man who came to him a few years before as a farm laborer without a dollar to bless himself with, and without knowing 10 words of English.

The Pole, from the small town in his native land, is distinctively a son of the soil. He sometimes goes into Austrian factory towns and works in the mills and shops for a few years. But he does this merely to earn the money to buy a farm later. To own land is his crowning ambition, and he is aided and abetted in attaining his heart's desire by the devoted labor of his wife and children.

When the farm is bought, he and the whole family buckle down and work industriously to pay for it as soon as possible. Even the aged grandparents help. All hands labor from morning till night, and even after dark, and the little tots, barely out of the cradle, do their bit in weeding onions.

The babies, in fact, get their first view of the onion fields from their baby carriages or go-carts, and as soon as they can toddle they are taught to be useful.

The wife raises a large family, but child-bearing does not hinder her from toiling in the fields every moment not urgently required for housework or baby tending. The family thus engaged have their one recreation in driving to town on Sunday and attending church.

Any one who is willing to work as hard as the Pole and his wife do is bound to succeed, but few people of other races are willing to pay the same price for success—and Yankees have not sufficiently strong backs.

The Pole's indefatigable industry, the infallibility with which he makes a success of his agricultural enterprises, his characteristic of asking no odds or favors of any one, and the way in which he keeps plugging patiently along without a word of complaint, makes it impossible not to admire him.

The Pole is not only a good farmer and market man, and able to achieve the almost impossible on even a worn out farm, but he is often a keen business man. He knows how to sell his produce. They know just how, when and where to sell their crops to get topnotch prices, and they know how to "hold for a rise," too.

The Polish girl or woman is the equal, if not the superior of, the man. A Polish girl piece-worker in a paper, silk, cotton or woolen mill, or in a tobacco, sorting house, will inevitably outstrip all her fellows of other nationalities.

The girl may know only half a dozen words of English, but she is quick, not afraid of work, and she has a powerful physique and wonderful endurance, so she will earn \$10 to her neighbors' \$5, and she won't make any fuss or words about it, either.

The Poles are not interested in politics, and have not a particle of instinct for social climbing.

All have an insatiable desire for education. The little Stanislauses and Marys absorb knowledge like sponges, and the young Poles are the brightest scholars in the schools. The youngsters win all the prizes in the breadmaking, pig-growing, cornraising and garden contests; they read the most books in the vacation reading clubs, and they have the making of enthusiastic Americans.

Polish children of the second generation speak English without a trace of accent. Indeed, they sometimes acquire a distinct Yankee inflection.

The Pole is, above all, saving and thrifty. More than half of the depositors in the postal savings banks in the valley are Poles, and the average deposit is ten times that of the other depositors. The same is true of the other savings banks, and the Poles liberally fall over one another buying war savings and thrift stamps and Liberty Bonds.

The influx of the Poles was regarded with a good deal of apprehension in the valley, but the rising Polish tide has prevented many a community from growing senile, or dying out altogether, and many schools in the valley would be closed were it not for the little Polish recruits who have arrived.

The Pole is not a man with a low-living standard. He pays his bills, never runs in debt beyond his ability to pay, and demands no undue credit. He insists upon the best there is in food and clothing and anything else, and

cheerfully pays the price without haggling. He is proud, excitable and high spirited.

LIEUT. LAWRENCE TOWNSEND, JR.

The greatness of a cause may be measured in part by the devotion of its adherents. The cause of human liberty claimed the last full measure of devotion from Lieut. Lawrence Townsend, Jr., whose death from pneumonia, October 13, was the direct result of his unsparing and self-forgotten efforts in behalf of a movement for the liberation of the oppressed nationalities of Central Europe.

Lieut. Townsend was the son of the Honorable Lawrence Townsend, former United States Minister to Portugal and to Belgium. As a naval officer Lieut. Townsend took part in the occupation of Vera Cruz, and here he gave proof of his heroic quality. The attack on the United States troops was directed from a high church tower, whence a rain of shot issued with fatal effect. Lieut. Townsend challenged a group of his comrades to join him in dislodging the enemy, and himself led the way up the narrow staircase where they were forced to go in single file. Later, unheeding of danger from snipers, he marched through the streets of the city with inverted weapon, to assure the inhabitants of the friendly attitude of the United States government.

Lieut. Townsend's interest in the subject peoples of Mid-Europe began as a child, when he took violin lessons from a Bohemian musician. When, less than a month ago, the Democratic Mid-European Union was formed in the city of Washington, Lieut. Townsend flung himself into the enterprise with an intelligent enthusiasm which few Americans could equal. The preliminary arrangements were left in his hands, and with illness fastening upon him, he spent days and nights in telephone calls and interviews. After the meeting of October third inaugurating the Union, he collapsed with a high fever. The last night of his life, in his delirium, he was pleading the cause of the Czechoslovaks, and his last conscious utterance was an appeal to his mother to "carry on." He died in the cause of liberty as truly as if he had fallen upon the battlefield. "Dulce et decorum pro patria mori," says the Latin poet; but still higher honors should be his who died for the liberation of other races than his own.

S. F. H.

The strong have many pleaders; the weak but few. It is because he had turned from the

seats of the mighty to plead the cause of the silent, the oppressed people, that the death of Lieutenant Lawrence Townsend, Jr., U. S. N., at Washington, fell as a blow upon those who knew him and worked with him.

Because of his temperament, his nature, it was inevitable the plight of the people in Central Europe should have appealed to him. It was characteristic that, having elected to plead their cause, he should throw himself heart and soul into it. Even when he had a rendezvous with death, he persisted in going about his task of arranging a meeting of the Middle European peoples in Washington, a meeting which later culminated in the formation of the Democratic Union.

The gospel of democracy, as preached in this war, appealed to him. The one great reward which was to come to this suffering world at its conclusion was to be a world reborn, a world of pure democracies, with freedom for all races. It was to that end, he dedicated his life; it was in the aid of that cause he overtaxed his strength and came to his death.

He needs no sculptured stone to mark his resting place. It would seem but a dreary commonplace. For the free birds of the air, for all the free things in the world which he loved, a slender birch beneath the vaulting blue, will be sufficient. His real memorial, one which will far outlast the years of those who knew and admired him, the agony, the tears of those who loved him, will be found in the hearts of the children yet unborn for whom he worked to make free.

A great cause is sanctified by great sacrifices. His must count even as one of the first. His life went out for Poland and for the free White Eagle, as for the other nations. And at sunset, in a day yet to come, when victory has set the sky aflame, the White Eagle banners of the Polish Army in France, Siberia, on the Murman Coast and within the boundaries of Poland, will droop in concert at taps in memory of this young American naval officer.

J. C. W.

POLES MAKE EXCELLENT FIGHTERS

Napoleon once said of the Polish arm, "It is the best." Almost since the beginning of the war it has been the ambition of the Poles again to distinguish themselves in the field, regain their ancient prestige, and win from the world the admission that their services entitled their nation to autonomy and independence.

Russia for political reasons discouraged the idea of a distinctive Polish army, both under the rule of the Czar and under Kerensky. Of course under the Bolsheviks the agitation ended. So the Poles turned to France, which bade them welcome and in an order dated June 4, 1917, decreed the creation of a distinct Polish legion.

Now the legion, which has grown so fast that it is really an army, is about to take its place on the battle line, having been mobilized in a great camp named Sille-le-Guillaume, near Le Mans. The uniform is the same as the French, with the exception of a distinctive headdress, the "czapka." The officers are Frenchmen and Poles who have served in France.

Since the early days of January large detachments of well-drilled Poles have been arriving in France from the United States. They are the regiments which Ignace Paderewski recruited.—San Francisco (Cal.) *Argonaut*.

POLAND AWAKENS

The British Government has just acknowledged the belligerent status of the existing Polish army and of the provisional government under which it serves. This is the same process as that through which a new Czecho-Slovak state was recently brought into existence. Poland lives again in her armies, exiled as yet from her soil, but fighting in her name and under her flag to break the shackles of Russian, Prussian and Austrian domination.

There never yet was human power
Which could evade, if unforgiven,
The patient search and vigil long
Of him who treasures up a wrong.

It has been a long vigil for the Poles since the three partitions of their country in the latter half of the eighteenth century. But never has a conquered people shown a more indomitable will to survive or a more persistent instinct and nationality. The Poles have refused to be Russianized or Prussianized, although both Russia and Prussia have gone to extremes of brutality and terroristic cunning in order to break their spirit. Nor have they ever yielded to the blandishments of Austria's milder policy of cajolery and assimilation.

For nearly 150 years Poland, blotted off the map, has maintained the invisible boundaries of the ancient kingdom. Her speech and culture have remained and her patriotism has been welded in the fires of persecution. Prussia tried to kill the Polish soul—to expropriate the Polish small farmer, to outlaw the Polish speech. But every *dragonnade* of this sort has been in vain. Poland has lived, as Dr. Mühlson said, despite the fact that three emperors have tried to sit on her coffin.

The Russian makeweight has been shifted from the coffin lid. The Austrian makeweight has caused the Polish patriots little concern, for every oppressed race in Eastern Europe has long held that the death of Francis Joseph would be the signal for the dissolution of the Hapsburg monarchy. The real incubus on Polish freedom has been the Prussian, with his infinite contempt and hatred for a people which have never bowed the knee to German might or to German *Kultur*.

Even the Prussian is beginning to tremble before the spectre of new Slav power which is to stretch from Danzig to the Adriatic. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* recently published some correspondence between the Polish Regency Council and General von Beseler, the Military Governor of the occupied Russian territories. General von Beseler clashed with the council over a question involving the latter's political authority, and finally had to yield his contention in what are described as "terms of abject politeness."

When a German military bureaucrat becomes "abjectly polite" to any body of Poles, freedom for Poland is at the door. And not only freedom for Russian Poland, but for Prussian Poland as well. The map of Eastern Europe is being redrawn. On that map the nation which Kosciusko vainly fought to save is emerging triumphantly from the death in life in which it has so long lingered heroically, awaiting the ending of its sufferings and the undoing of its wrongs.

POLAND, A NATION

The Polish people have never resigned themselves to the position of a subject nationality. Through all the years since the infamous partitions of Poland in 1773, 1793, and 1795, they have kept alive their determination to be a free and independent state. In 1815 that part of Poland which fell to Russia in the partition was granted by the liberal Czar Alexander I a certain status of independence under a constitution, but in 1830 the Poles revolted and their brief period of freedom came to an end.

It is interesting to note that the insurrection of Poland in 1830 prevented Russia and Austria from assisting in the contemplated suppression of the Belgian revolt. As a result Belgium gained her independence. In 1914 the violation of Belgium brought England into the war and subsequently arrayed half the world against the authors of that lawless, brutal act. The cross which Belgium is bearing will bring freedom to Poland even as the quelling of the Polish revolt in 1830 helped to give Belgium her freedom.

In 1863 the Poles again rose in revolt, but were put down with ruthless ferocity. The pretended independence conferred upon a prostrate and half-starved Poland by Germany and Austria in 1916 need not detain us. That independence had so many strings tied to it that it could scarcely satisfy the aspirations of a liberty-loving people. Real Polish freedom can only be won when the rule of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg and the system which they represent are no more.

The principle of the self-determination of nations can have no other practical outcome than the setting up of a free Poland, as well as a free Belgium, a free Serbia, and a free Czecho-Slavia. President Wilson in his fourteen points, the charter of liberty of oppressed nationalities, has accorded Poland a place. We read:

"An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant." The victorious progress of Allied arms makes it a certainty that this statement of what should be will become in no great time actual fact and the independent state of Poland will take its place among the nations, its continuance and safety guaranteed by the irresistible power of a league of nations.

Poland, Belgium and Serbia are the sisterhood of martyrs to Prussian oppression. They shall be free.—*Milwaukee Journal*, October 10.

FREE POLAND

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JAMES C. WHITE Editor

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF "FREE POLAND," PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C., FOR OCTOBER 1, 1918.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James C. White, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of FREE POLAND, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are:

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2. That the owners are:

Polish National Council, 984 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; Dr. K. Wagner, President.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities, are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company, as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct, or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JAMES C. WHITE, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2d day of May, 1918.

(Seal)

WILLIAM S. MILLER.

My commission expires February 3, 1922.

